1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

ploitation of mercenary and avaricious colonists, played a role of almost immeasurable influence. Good examples of this are the Puritans who left their home under a yoke of religious persecution to cross to undeveloped North America and the Catholic priests who, enduring danger and difficulty, acted as evangelists to create a Kingdom of the Spirit in the lands colonized by Spain and Portugal. In the history of Japan's colonial Northeast the records show that Buddhism was encouraged as a part of a policy of assimilation and rule.[87] There are, however, no records of the role of religion under the Matsumae who had no colonization policy anyway, although the Japanese population of the early Matsumae area was reasonably large and a number of temples were built. Some Ezo may have been converted to religion under the Matsumae but the basic and main purpose of religion in that period was to cater to Japanese needs and not to prosylyte. Nevertheless, despite the lack of records, there was some pre-Bakufu Buddhist influence in the Northeast. Leaving aside the legend of St. Nichiji who is said to have crossed to Manchuria from Ezo in the Shōō period [1288–1292], there is the example of Kaiki who is said to have built the Zenkōji temple at Usu in the Tencho period [824–833] and therefore must have preached to the natives living near the temple. It is also possible that other Buddhist priests such as Enku [88] went to Ezo to teach the way of the Buddha but there are no records and only glimpses such as the following passage in *Igen Zokuwa*:

> There are, in a temple at Usu in East Ezo, small bells and a large rosary used for prayers to be repeated a million times and it is said that the Ezo come to the temple to pray a million times and since Usu is located near Japan there are a number of Ezo who have learned to speak Japanese which they use in saying their prayers and masses.

It should be noted that the Bakufu, originators of a colonial policy, included religious activities as part of their policy although their motives may have been mixed and the priests, although their efforts are not comparable to the missionary activities of the religions of other countries, did strive to help the Ezo. The priest Ranshū of the Zenkoji temple wrote a "Guide to Posterity" for the Ezo and in May, 1807, when foreign ships appeared in Tsugaru Strait and Russian men of war invaded Etorofu, he set up Buddhist banners at various points to be guarded by Ezo and he taught the Ezo to prefer death rather then disgrace. He also drafted an admonition and a pledge which he published with an explanation in the Ezo tongue.[89] He is also

[87] *Dai Nihon Shi* 242. Foreign biographies Ezo. Jō (No. 1). In 699 the Empress Jitō send Buddhist furnishings to the Ezo Buddhist priest in Mutsu.

[88] Takakura, Shinichirō, Enku Natazukuri no Zō (Idol of Enku Dasaku), Ezo Ōrai, No. 11.

[89] I am not familiar with the contents of the Gose no Shiori (Guide to the coming generation) written by Ranshū. However, the entire contents of the instructions to the Ezo can be found in Vol. 2 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. Owing to its complexity, it will not be quoted here.

Feudal Japan AB2

F
*648
797
*175
792

reported to have once gathered five hundred natives for a Buddhist ceremony and had them say prayers a million times using a large rosary. Another priest, Benzui the Third, composed a song "Kobikiuta" which he translated into Ezo and he was frequently seen walking around his district accepting offerings of rice while he, in turn, gave aid to the sick and the lonely and urged the people to accept the gospel of the Buddha. Whenever he obtained followers he would teach them the song he had composed and he would dance to the tinkle of his bell. He preached in a simple manner and taught the natives to read and write Kana. The Ezo respected him and called him the Prayer God.[40] There are further examples such as the Kokutaiji priest who translated the Five Commandments of Buddhism into

---

[40] *Sapporo Kushi* states that Nembutsu Shonin translated the *Kobiki Uta* of Ranshū into the Ezo tongue. Although the translation differed somewhat this song was taught by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi and it is given below. (The "Gose no Shiori" of Ranshū is actually a *Kobiki Uta* and the entire thing can be found in the *Hokkai Kaikyō Kikyō*. Essential materials on the opening and civilizing of the North Sea region.)

A
[533]
[539]
●[788]

Nembutsu Shonin — *Kobiki Uta*
Namuamidabutsu
Ezochijin usuyama zenkoji sandai zendaihonganji benzuii shonin
Nembutsu shohan
Hear all ye people. Listen to what I have to say
(*Tapan Utare* — *Epakashimuko Taka*)
Sooner or later — all men must die once
(*Tonashikamoreika* — *Arishimu Yuiraina*)
If you are afraid to die — say your prayers
(*Raikohan chiki* — *Nenfuchimukiiyare*)
For who says his prayers — will someday
(*Kiikaru Neyakina* — *Senbarayatsuka*)
although his body — may cease to live
(*Kauseneto Hake* — *Raiwa Ne Yatsuka*)
Like a cicada discarding his cast
(*Yaaki Shi Seihere Osiyora Mukokachi*)
He will go to the land of the moon and the sun
(*Chiyufu Afure Ha*)
and the land without death
(*Shomorai Kodanta*)
to be reborn there — and live as he pleases
(*Omanzekutoha* — *Yaeramu Aimine*)
If your wife and children are dear to you
(*Emachiko Otare* — *Enu Kashikewa Neteki*)
Have them say the prayers together with you
(*Utoranen Fuchi* — *Kiichiki Hiraka*)
For then, you will meet no difficulties in this world
(*Tahan Mushirikata* — *Shomoyaihomoshu*)
and in the world to come you will find yourself in heaven
(*Mushiri Etuhako* — *Achiran Setokote*)
where Japanese and Ezo, the noble and the common
(*Samo Mo Ainu Mo* — *Utare Mo Tono Mo*)
will live together on the same leaf of the lotus
(*Shinefu Ike* — *Kashiketa Anna*)
to enjoy life without end
(*Chihore Funn Hetsune* — *Shomaorai Ruhone*)
Henceforth let all say the prayers of *Namuamidabutsu* (*Namuashitoki*) and *Amida butsu* (*Kamoi Ratsuta*) for they shall be blessed. Blessed are they who say *Amidabutsu Namuamidabutsu Namuamidabutsu Shoshibutsuhiko. Higashi Ezo Nikki* 21.

[P.74 (B)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

252 eat it raw, but if too much is taken, it causes scrofula or boils.

782 All things are looked upon as gods or demons in their own sphere and order. Cereals are said to be gods and are worshipped, and eating the firstfruits is a religious act. Thus an Ainu gave me the following lore on this subject. It is a prayer to the god of cereals.

788 "O thou Cereal Deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy flavour will be sweet. Thou art good. The Goddess of Fire will be glad, and we shall rejoice greatly. O thou god, O divine cereal, do thou nourish the people. We now partake of thee. We worship thee and give thee thanks." After having thus prayed, the worshipper takes a cake and eats it, and from this time the common people may all begin to eat the new millet.

And so with many gestures of homage and words of prayer this kind of food is dedicated to the well-being of the people.

782 776 No doubt the cereal offering is regarded as a tribute paid to God, but that god is none other than the vital principle in the seed itself; and it is only a god in so far as it is beneficial to the human body. The conclusion I have arrived at from this and other examples is that the cereals are considered as a kind of totem gods, and that the Ainu idea of holding communion with such gods is by eating them and thus partaking of their goodness and life-giving essence. The same idea underlies the bear festival.

576 264 On a certain occasion I gave some cauliflower seeds to an Ainu friend, but on going to pay him a visit later, found the plants in danger of running to seed. Upon asking him and his wife why they had not cut and eaten them, the lady replied: "You yourself have not yet partaken of them. We cannot touch them till you have first eaten some." Of course I cut some at once, cooked them, and was very glad to dedicate

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527 774 ed it into sections and commented on each where I considered it best to do so.

"O my very own dear little bear cub, pay great attention to me. The honoured ones who reared thee, the honoured grandmother, too, set before thee much [788] wine and many fetishes, dumplings and precious treasures."

[The honoured ones here mentioned are those who brought the animal up. The honoured grandmother is the woman who, in common with her own children, suckled the cub when it was very small. The fetishes are wands of whittled wood; the dumplings are round cakes made of millet and are to serve partly as food while young bruin is on his way to his spirit home. The precious treasures are beads, dirks, swords and other family heirlooms. They are placed upon the head or about its snout for a time and restored to the owners after the festival.]

"Ascending upon the fetishes in the cluster thou art going to thy honoured father and mother with laughter and joy."

[The honoured father and mother here mentioned are the parent bears, which, though dead, are alive for evermore. For [774] with the Ainu all discarnate souls of whatever kind, animal, vegetable, mineral, organic or inorganic, never die or for one single moment of time lose their own peculiar identity of person.

"Ascending upon the fetishes" refers to the fact that when dead the cub's head is cut off and stuck up on high at the place outside the east end window of the hut where other fetishes are arranged, some old and others new. It is thought to be a great honour to the cubs to be so set up, for there they are at times worshipped and this they like much.]

[273] "Having made *saké* again out of this wine, thou art going to invite both the near and far-away deities to a grand feast. There will be plenty of *saké* and dumplings, and while feasting thou wilt surely speak good things to the company about us."

[Having rejoined his parent bears in the spirit kingdom, the cub will make a great spiritual feast out of the essences of the viands now to be sent with him, and he will say all kinds of flattering things about his earthly foster-parents and the people who helped first to fatten him and then kill, eat and give him such a happy, festive "send-off." For, be it remembered that this feast is called Iyomande maratto, which means "Feast of sending away"]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

331 In building their dwellings, the people begin not
342 "with the top brick of the chimney," but with the roof. This consists of bare rafters tied to horizontal poles at the lower end and a long ridge-pole at the upper, to which the thatch is fixed. The inner layers of bark, especially of elm trees, and pieces of vine and creeping plants are used as rope and string for tying the poles together. As soon as the roof is finished, poles about seven feet long (of magnolia by preference, on account of its supposed durability) are driven into the earth at a distance of about six feet apart, and across these smaller pieces of wood are lashed, to which the thatch is tied; and thus the walls are formed. These poles have each a fork in the top. When they are all set up in their places, the roof is lifted bodily on to them, the lower horizontal poles being allowed to rest in the forks at the top of the uprights. The thatching is then proceeded with. This takes a day or two to finish, for the huts are entirely thatched with reeds, right from the ridge-poles on the roof to the foot of the poles stuck in the earth. Both men and women work at house-
[462 building, in which I have also sometimes joined for the
221] fun of the thing, and the spring and autumn were the proper times for this occupation.

342 When the framework of the house has been set up and the "heart" fixed properly in its appointed place, a preliminary house-warming festival takes place, at which prayer is said, dumplings eaten and either millet beer or Japanese *saké* partaken of. The first prayer is as follows:—

342 "O House God! O Caretaker of the Room! we
● 788 worship Thee; we beseech Thee to hear us. In olden
782 times, when the Goddess of Fire was sent down from Heaven, a house came down with her. The frame was made of wood and the walls of reeds. The heart also was there. Now, when God sent the building down, He said, 'This house will, together with the Goddess of Fire, watch over the people. When it becomes old,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

another should be made in its place and children born 342
and brought up in it.' So now, O God, this room is 788
finished and the heart has been given it. Do Thou and 782
the Goddess of Fire keep the people in good health.
We offer Thee fetishes. Pray see that those who shall
dwell in this house do not become ill."

After the walls have been covered in and the roof 342
quite thatched, many fetishes are made, the furniture 778
brought in, and the chief household god set up in his
corner in the sacred place which is his.

When building their homes in olden days the men 342
were very careful to drive in two good-sized stakes at
the head of the hearth, one in the right-hand and the
other in the left-hand corner. They were set there in
a very reverential manner, with many prayers and
much ceremony. Like almost everything else, they
were called "gods" and treated with awe. They were
even worshipped and had libations offered them on oc-
casion. No house was considered safe to dwell in with-
out these objects, and they were supposed to bring
good or ill fortune as befitted the case.

I once quite unwittingly gave great offence to a 576
chief I was visiting on a very cold day, by resting my
heels on one of his little posts and turning the soles
of my feet towards the blazing fire, to warm them.
Fortunately, my good friend chief Penri was sitting by
my side and explained to me the heinous crime of
impiety I was thereby committing. I took them off
directly and apologized for the act. Clouds at once
passed away and peace was restored so that we got
along in perfect concord.

The proper full name of these two stakes is 342
Inumbe-sa-ushbe, which means, "Objects set at the head
of the hearth." Those I saw in chief Penri's house
were very good specimens. The old man told me that
they were about three feet long and had been driven
into the hearth corners with a wooden mallet. So deep-
ly had they been driven in that only about six inches

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 hide the "body," notches having been cut in the stick so as to keep them from slipping down. After this has been respectfully done, it is reverently stuck in the ground by the fireside and the following dedicatory prayer is said to it:—

[188] "O Divine Fetish, you are henceforth to live in this house with the Goddess of Fire. You are to be her husband and your abiding place will be in the sacred treasure corner. Help Thou her to watch over us, we beseech Thee, and do Thou bless us.' After this prayer has been said, some saké drunk and some libations offered, this fetish is named 'Divine Ancestral House Governor." Such were the words of my in-

THE HOUSEHOLD FETISHES

formant. It is now installed and forthwith begins to take charge of the house with its consort. Then many other kinds of fetishes are made and offered to both of them with much prayer and festivity.

342 778 The household has thus become a unit and complete in itself. In so far as social intercourse is concerned, the family is independent and works for itself, but still within the community. The household has, as it were, reached its adult age. The Goddess of Fire has her seat right in the middle of the hottest part of the hearth and from here she performs her appointed service. It

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

115 that they had been taken by himself and were very precious talismans. He also gave me the following story.

539 825 "The white-tailed eagle was sent down from heaven. It is a bird of very quick hearing powers and makes no mistakes. And so when any hunter goes into the mountains and happens upon such small animals as foxes and hares, and at the same time observes one of these eagles hovering near, he should quickly say, 'Make haste, O divine eagle, and kill this animal for me.' It will then at once descend and strike the creature with its breast and kill it. Thus it comes to be known that this bird has good hearing powers. It is for this reason that fetishes are presented to it when it is killed. Then, if the skin and body are placed in the garden plots, hares will not dare to come and spoil the produce. Once more; the claws of this eagle are to be carefully put away. And the way they are used 755 is this. If a snake should bite one's heel and cause 758 pain, the claws of this bird should be bound over the wound and the following prayer be said:

[188] "'The divine White-tailed Eagle has come to help; O snake, hasten to heal this man.' So should the man say."

The eagle spoken of in the first legend is the *Aquila clagna, Poll.*, but the white-tailed eagle here spoken of is the *Haliaetus albicilla, Linn.* The use of the claws as a cure for snake bite is very curious and it was a long time before I could make out the reason for the custom. At last I was told that, according to Ainu ideas, eagles are the enemies of snakes and catch and eat them. The claws are therefore placed over wounds given by these reptiles as a threat to the one who did the biting. This is said to frighten the snake into removing his poison! In the prayer he is informed by the sufferer

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that, as all things spring from germs, so these ignorant superstitions of the Ainu may be in a manner called their religion, as the germ of a more developed system—the cotyledonous state of what might grow into a more advanced spirituality. Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Ainu wave their moustache-lifters, during their libations, towards the sun, the fire, and the person who has paid for the wine, before they address themselves to the large wooden bowls wherein lies their happiness; but this also is not a religious ceremony, and no religious feeling whatever is connected with it. It is a mere *toast*—part of their etiquette—which exactly corresponds to the German "*Prosit*," or to our English "Your good health." The Ainu of course have no special high-days, no Sundays, no religious services, no prayers, no priests, no sacrificial priests, no churches, and no bells; but they can "swear"; and as the Neapolitans invoke their saints, so they occasionally call the sun, the moon, the fire, and everything else, all sorts of bad names if things do not go as they ought. This "swearing" has been defined as *Ainu praying* by one authority on the Ainu religion; moreover, the same authority calls the Ainu a "distinctly religious people," and an "exceedingly religious race!" To anyone who visits a country and regards all that he finds from one point of view only, it is not difficult to interpret words and things in accordance with the preconceived idea; but however high the principles sought to be established, I do not consider a man justified in attributing to definite facts an importance and significance to which they have no claim. I have no doubt that a native who had associated with or been in the employment of a Christian would make statements in accordance with his master's belief as it had been taught him; but it is incorrect to offer these "borrowed statements" as the religious beliefs of a whole nation.

I shall not discuss this question at greater length; but for the sake of readers who are interested in the subject it may be well to make two or three more statements before closing this chapter. The Ainu do not know of a heaven and hell; but in one of the latest publications on the aborigines of Japan we are told that they do; and, moreover, that they are fully aware of the resurrection of the body in the other world!

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*.

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour.

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers.

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child.

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-korpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based on the data from Tokapchi and Otoppke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of membership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities. The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core